/149 cont./

115 large part, and this to the great dismay of the respectable
[149] guardian of the ruins of Tiahuanaco who had accompanied him to La Paz and whose watchfulness he tricked in order to enter
[191] his village alone. A very limited knowledge of Aymara, none of Spanish or Keŝwa /Quechua/. An excellent informant.

Carlos Kispe, from 40 to 50 years old, one of the youngest men in the group. He displayed characteristics in his physical
[144] appearance which led one to suspect a certain degree of Aymara
[848] crossbreeding (see the 2nd note, on Physical Anthropology /p. 30/). Besides he was an illegitimate son, born of an un-
[191] known father. Much more enterprising than Manuel Inta, he spoke Aymara fluently, but neither Spanish nor Keŝwa. He had frequent contacts with the neighboring Aymara populations and, faced with the persistant drought, was thinking of leaving
[191] Iru-Itu to go live as a fisher at Guaki. He also proved to be an excellent informant, but his syntax was less pure and less varied than that of Manuel Inta and his vocabulary poorer and more mixed with Aymara; he did not use, or even did not know, a certain number of words used by his companion.

195 It is interesting to underline these differences in /150/
184 language between individuals of the same village, belonging to two different generations. They allow us to follow the rapid evolution of languages entrusted to oral tradition alone without any monument to establish them.

115 Outside these two principal informants, we utilized other inhabitants of the village, either for the general investigation or for word comparisons.

128 For each text we shall indicate the informant who pro-
191 vided it. These texts were gone over several times with the informant in order to obtain as exact a transcription as possible. Their translation was always checked in Aymara. Even so, in the course of the same text, considerable variations in pronunciation will be observed, which do not appear to follow any definite rule. They indicate a certain phonetic instability, more marked, of course, between different observers.

/188 cont./
*539 193 would be tukú- nua, "woman,"-"spouse." Note the placing of the particle áskę, "for," between the root and the ending of the verb.

*539 121 It was interesting to publish these texts, which make possible some useful comparisons with Orés Pukina text, which will be the subject of our next note, and with Métraux's three Chipaya texts.

*539 190 [194] Considerable phonetic differences exist between Uru and Chipaya. For example, the ending čai, so characteristic of Uru but which already is tending to become ča or to be dropped, becomes ja in Chipaya. Chipaya pronunciation is much harder, with a greater frequency of gutterals, no doubt as a [192] result of Aymara influence. The Chipaya vocabulary contains a much higher proportion of Aymara, Keŝwa, and even Spanish words, and this does not originate solely from the nature of the texts gathered by Métraux: the trip of a Chipaya to Chile, and life in the barracks; one finds the same character in his second text, describing life in the fields. Outside this variable proportion of foreign words, differences in vocabulary are slight.

[193] The syntax of the two groups is identical, but nevertheless much less varied in Chipaya.

All this underlines the close linguistic affinities of these [184] two groups. It is the same language, practically extinct, spoken by two small, completely separated populations; it is better preserved among the Uru and more altered among the Chipaya, and already displays considerable variations from one generation to another within the same group.

*539 184 The differences are much more marked in the very content, rather than form, of the texts. The Uru mainly describe their work as fishermen and, to some extent, their customs. Métraux was able only with difficulty to obtain from the Chipaya a few phrases on their work /189/ in the fields and on animal husbandry, and his texts are mainly accounts of

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/189 cont./

experiences outside of their daily life -- a trip to Chile or life in the barracks.

Nothing better underlines the different character of these two groups than these texts dictated by themselves. The Chipaya are herders, very much affected by the influence of their Aymara and Keŝwa neighbors, and even by the Creole culture. The Uru, fisher-gatherers, have kept almost up to their extinction, their way of life and relative isolation, which is reflected in their less altered language.

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They do little hunting of land animals, but they may lasso the head male of a herd of vicuña which has been driven from the heights by the cold of winter, then club the remainder of the herd.

Herding.—The *Uru* have a few livestock—sheep, cows, and occasional llamas—but these are restricted in number by the scant pasture on the mainland. The cattle are usually half-wild and forage in the swamps, eating the succulent reed stalks and roots. The *Uru* have dogs, guinea pigs, chickens, and pigs; the last are kept in mud sties or allowed to wander through the village.

Farming.—Maize will not grow in this infertile and cold region, which is more than 12,000 feet (3,600 m.) above sea level; but a few bitter potatoes and some quinoa are cultivated.

Food preparation.—The few potatoes cultivated are frozen and dried to make chuñu. Women grind quinoa with a long, flat, stone muller on a stone metate which slants outward from their laps, then toast it to make a nourishing powder (pitu). The succulent white root of the totora reed is eaten raw. Shrimplike crustaceans from the river are toasted.

Beer is made of quinoa and, when they can get it, of maize, which they chew into chicha.

Like all the altiplano peoples, the *Uru* chew coca.

HOUSES

Most *Uru* houses have an oval ground plan, but some are rectangular. The walls are built of rectangular turf blocks laid in horizontal courses, much as the ancient chullpas, or grave-houses, the outer wall often plastered with adobe. The entrance always faces east and is closed at night by a thick door made of bunches of totora reeds placed vertically and joined together at intervals by double horizontal cords in twined technique. The roof framework is of sticks or of reed bundles; the main ridge of the roof arches east and west, with stick or reed-bundle purlins resting on this ridge and the side walls. This framework is covered with reed mats (pl. 113, *top, left*)—single totora stalks twined at intervals with grass cord. Grass ropes are laid over the mats and tied to pegs in the outside wall. The fire in the mud stove to the right inside the door speedily coats the roof with soot and makes it waterproof. Greasebrush (tola), chunks of a woody semi-subterranean plant (yareta), and llama dung—in the absence of wood in this treeless region—serve as fuel. Some smaller *Uru* shelters have a corbeled turf dome instead of a frame with mat thatching. The Sojopaca *Uru* build temporary shelters of mud, "like beavers," similar to the domed houses of the islet of Simillaque. On the Isle of Panza there are round, stone-roofed houses.

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the *Aymara*, the *Uru* distinguish siblings terminologically according to age.

Marriage is now solemnized, if at all, with a Catholic ritual led by a priest who yearly visits the village. There is a tradition that formerly couples were married while standing back to back in the water of the lake. Postmarital residence is patrilocal. Although Polo (1901) states that the *Uru* were formerly endogamous, a shortage of women during recent years has led men to take *Aymara* wives.

If the *Uru* ever had a tribal chieftain, he has long since been forgotten. Today, they have the typical altiplano native hilakata, or alcalde, appointed or elected yearly. Squabbles with *Aymara* neighbors are led by this official.

RELIGION

The *Uru* worship Pachamama, the earth goddess, and perhaps also a place-deity of the swamp, although they are nominally Catholic and have a small mud church in their village. Like the *Aymara*, they believe in dream interpretation, in meteorological signs, and in taking omens. Their sacrifices of alcohol, coca leaves, and animals to their deities are very like those of the *Aymara*. Bertonio (1879 b), however, lists several ancient *Uru* dances which have disappeared since the 17th century: the huchhu or sisa quirkitha, and the chiy-chiy, in which bags are held in the hand.

The main *Uru* fiesta is at the vernal equinox, but has been changed from the 23d to the 14th of September to coincide with the Christian feast of the Exaltation. On this date, they blow panpipes (siku), sing and dance the mimule, and perform the ancient rite of blood-sacrifice (wilancha) by slaughtering a llama and smearing the blood near the entrance of each hut. Most of the *Uru* beliefs and ceremonies are clearly from the *Aymara*.

Most *Uru-Chipaya* folklore is similarly of the common *Aymara* stock of animal tricksters.

THE CHIPAYA

The *Chipaya* of Carangas (Bolivia) are linguistically identical with the *Uru* of the Río Desaguadero but differ somewhat from them in culture, though retaining in common certain ancient features. Whereas the *Uru* are chiefly a fishing and hunting people, the *Chipaya* are chiefly pastoral and practice a little agriculture.

CULTURE

SUBSISTENCE ACTIVITIES

The *Chipaya*, like many pastoral peoples, dislike to kill their animals, and they eat llama flesh only when these are ritually slaughtered at public fiestas or important private rites. Curiously, the *Chipaya* do